DR. NALINAKSHA DUTT



BUDDHISM IN KASHMIR

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with a foreword by

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FOREWORD

Dr. Harcharan Singh Sobti M.A. LL.B. Ph. D.

A living religion is a growing religion and Buddhism is one such religion. Growth is effected through interaction. In the sphere of religous activities, Buddhism, unlike other religions of the world, witnessed a phenomenal growth effected through interaction spread out to various cultures and nationalities. The potentials of the Buddha's *Dhamma*, when explored through contact with local cultures, were crytalized in various forms identified as Ceylonese, Chinese, Japanese and Burmese Buddhism and many more. It is precisely on this account that, perhaps, only Buddhism can be truly deified as World-Religion among the religions of the world.

The book in hand is concerned with Indian Buddhism. The Buddha's own *Cārikas* and that of the Elders did help in spreading the *Dhamma*, later on called Buddhism, among the contemporary inhabitants of India, contemperaneously known as *Jambudīp*. The Wheel of the Dhamma or *Dhamma Cakka* once set on rolling at *Sāranath*, by the Buddha himself ceaselessly continued to move on conquering the hearts and the minds of the people. Indian Buddhism is equally rich with regional variations, at home. The Wheel moved into Kashmir, a cradle of Sanskrit Buddhism. The present book throws light on the history of Buddhism in Kashmir during the period, commencing from the reign of Aśoka up to the 12th century A.D. The book, in short, deals with the 'good and bad' days in the life—history of Buddhism. The most remarkable thing that the book has to reveal for us is "the harmonious existence of Buddhism and Śīvaism side by side without acrimonies and persecutions." (p. 63). This process of effecting harmony among

different religious sects was initiated and put into day to day practies by none other than the kings themselves. The kings not only erected temples to venerate *Siva Buddha* and *Viṣṇu* but also allowed their queens and ministers to express freely their adoration for the deities of their heart felt choice. And, an interaction, here too, among these three was inevitable. These gestures from the top, infact, go long way to establish religious tolerance (not toleration) giving way to harmonious living among the people belonging to different ethnic groups.

This book on history of Buddhism, is, besides other things, undoubtedly, of historical significance at the time of crisis in the life of Indian people.

Harcharan Singh Sobti

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ASR. = *Archaelogical Survey Report.*

Bu-ston = History of Buddhism (*Chos-ḥbyuṅ*) by Bu-ston, translated from Tibetan by Dr. E. Obermiller (1931).

CII. = *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. II, pt. i : Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions, edited by Sten Known (1929).

Divyā. = *Divyāvadāna* edited by Cowell and Neil (1886).

IHQ. = *Indian Historical Quarterly.*

JA. = Journal Asiatique (1895), L'itineraire d'Ou K'ong (751-790), traduit et annote par Mm. Sylvaiu Levi et Ed. Chavannes.

La *legende etc.* or *Przyluski* = *La legende de l'empereur Aśoka* (*Aśokāvadāna*) *dans les textes indiens et chinois par* J. Przyluski (1923).

Milinda = *Milindapañha* edited by V. Trenckner.

Mm. = *Mañjuśri-mūla-kalpa* edited by T. Ganapati Sastri. Trivandrum Sanskrit Series (1927).

Nanjio = *A Catalogue of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka* (in Chinese) by B. Nanj io.

PHAI. or Raychaudhury = *Political History of Ancient India* by Dr. Hemchandra Raychaudhury (1932).

Schiefner or Tāraṇātha = *Tāranātha's Geschichte des Buddhism in Indien an dem tibetischen ubersetzt* von Anton Schiefner (1869).

Stein or Rājat, or Kalhaṇa = Kalhaṇa's Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir, translated with an introduction, commentary, and appendices by M.A. Stein (1900).

Yuan Chwang or Watters = On Yuan Chwang's *Travels in India* (629-645 A.C.) by Thomas Watters (1904).

INTRODUCTION OF BUDDHISM

The earliest traditions relating to the introduction of Buddhism in Kashmir are preserved in the Ceylonese chronicle, the *Mahāvaṁsa*[1] and the Tibetan *Dul-va* (=*Vinaya Piṭaka* of the Sarvāstivādins).[2] The former tells us that Moggaliputta Tissa, the religious adviser of Aśoka, sent missionaries to different countries. Majjhantika was deputed to Kasmīra-Gandhāra. About the time of his arrival there Aravāḷa,[3] king of the Nāgas, was destroying the ripe corns of the country by hail-storm. Majjhantika, on account of his miraculous powers, stood on the surface of the Aravāḷa lake unaffected by rain and storm. At this the Nāga king grew furious and sent forth storm and lightnings, and hurled stones and rocks at him but without any effect. Thus convinced of Majjhantika's great powers, the Nāga king his with followers submitted to him and listened to his discourses on the evils of anger and hatred. Paṇḍaka Yakkha and Hāritā Yakkhiṇī with their 500 children became his devotees and offered a jewel throne. When they were fanning him the residents of Kasmīra-Gandhāra came with their offerings for the Nāgas, but they offered the same to Majjhantika who then delivered to them a discourse on *āśīviṣa* (venom of a

1. *Mahāvaṁsa* XII, 3.
2. *Dul-lva* (*A*.S.B. xylograph), vol. XI, 684-690
3. Apalāḷa in Chinese rendering. see Watters, I, p. 229

serpent) and converted them to Buddhism. From that day up to the time of composition of the *Mahāvaṁsa*, i. e., the 5th century A. C., the author says that Kasmīra-Gandhāra continued to be illumined by yellow robes.

A legend similar to the above appears with slight variations in the Tibetan *Dul-va* and the traditions derived from it, e.g., in the works of Tāranātha. Bu-ston, *Aśokāvadāna*, and in Yuan Chwang's *Records*. The story runs as follows: Madhyāntika, a disciple of Ānanda, was a teacher of Vārāṇaśī. His pupils were so numerous that the lay-devotees of Vārāṇaśī found it difficult to maintain them; so Madhyāntika left the town for Mount Uśīra in the north,[1] where he stopped for three years. After this period Madhyāntika went to Kashmir and settled down on the bank of a lake inhabited by the Nāgas.[2] His presence was resented by the Nāgas, who however were subdued by his supernatural powers. Tāranātha adds that at this time there were in Kashmir nine cities, many villages of mountain-dwellers, a royal residence and twelve vihāras, and that Madhyāntika brought with him many monks and lay-devotees, and increased the wealth of the country by introducing the cultivation of saffron,[3] for which Kashmir is

1. Identified with a mountation near Mathurā. See Watters, I I p. 308; B.C. Law, *Geog; of Early Buddhism*, p. 34
2. Kalhaṇa also says that Kashmir was full of lakes inhabited by Nāgas. Yuan Chwang says that "according to the native records, Kashmir was originally a dragon lake." Watters, I, p. 265
3. Cf. Watters, I, p. 262 : Madhyāntika carried this valuable plant from Gandhamādana and introduced it in Kashmir. See Sarvāstivāda Vinaya, Tsa-shih, Ch. 40

famous even to-day. Madhyāntika resided in Kashmir for twenty years and propagated the religion widely. After his death, when road-communication was established between Kashmir and Tukhāra, Kashmirian monks went to Tukhāra and established the religion there during the reign of Minara and Imaśya.[1]

1. Schiefner p. 23. Tāranātha adds (p. 25); Zu dieser Zeit etwa war es, also Koning Aśoka nicht lange vorher geboren wurde : but how far this statement can be taken at its worth is apparent.

BUDDHISM IN KASHMIR

It will be admitted by every scholar that Kashmir is the cradle of Sanskrit Buddhism, and it therefore behoves us to trace in detail the career of Buddhism in Kashmir. Though it is premature to make such an attempt with the scanty and scrappy materials that are at present available, we propose to bring together in these few pages the scattered information presented to us by distinguished scholars and archaeologists, of whom the pioneer is Sir Aurel Stein whose labours and findings in this field are remarkable and comprehensive. As our main sources of infomations are Kalhaṇa and Tāranātha, we shall have to satisfy ourselves with approximate dates and doubtful chronologies, but inspite of all these drawbacks we feel that such a connected account is required to serve as a background to the Buddhist Sanskrit texts that are going to be published in the Series initiated by His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir.

GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION

The kingdom of Kashmir appears in ancient records as a part and parcel of Gandhāra. In the list of sixteen mahājanapadas the Buddhist texts mention Kasmīra-Gandhāra as one *janapada* indicating thereby that the two countries formed one political unit in the pre-Aśokan days. That it continued to be so is evidenced by the Greek records in which Kaspapyros (=Kaśyapapura =Kashmir) is described as a Gandaric city.[1] In the *Milindapañha.*[2] was which composed about the begining of the Christian era, the two countries are compounded as Kasmīra-Gandhāra. The Chinese translators of Buddhist texts, which are dated in the 3rd or 4th century A.C., used the Chinese term 'Kipin' for Sanskrit 'Kāśmīra;'[3] Kipin,

1. *Rājat.*, I, p. 27; Watters, I, p. 26I; Ray Choudhari, *PHAI.* (I932), p. 103.
2. *Milindapañha*, p. 331 : Alasanda-Kasmīra-Gandhārā.
3. See Levi's remarks in *JA.*, 1896, p. 384. Takakusu (in *Toung Pao, vol. V*, p. 276 n.) furnishes us with the following valuable information :—
   i. Chinese authorities always identify Ki-pin with Kashmir;
   ii. Chinese *Milindapañha*(317-420 A.D.) has Ki-pin for Kashmir;
   iii. Chinese *Samantapāsādikā* also (488 A.D.) has Ki-pin for Kashmir.

however, included Kapisa Nagar and Gandhāra in addition to Kashmir. In one of its early chapters, the *Mahāvaṁsa*[1] designates the two countries as "Kasmīra-Gandhārā," but in another chapter, which relates to an incident of a much later date, it refers to monks as hailing from "Kasmīra" (Kasmīra-maṇḍalā).[2] Yuan Chwang and Ou K'ong distinguish Kashmir from Gandhāra while the former deals with the two countries separately. Both the travellers describe Kashmir as an extensive valley surrounded by mountains, which could be crossed only through a few passes. Ou K'ong specifies the passes which were three in number, one on the east giving access to T'ou-fan (Tibet), the second on the north leading to Po-liu (Baltistan) and a third on the west connected with K'ien-to-lo (Gandhāra). The second pass, Tāranātha writes, became fit for communication soon after Madhyāntika's death.[3] It is perhaps represented to-day by the present Gilgit road, and on this road stands the stūpa which has yielded our valued mss.-treasures. In the Government of India *Census Report of* 1931 (pt. i, p. 321) the following note appears: "There are two Buddhist stūpas, one on the hill side about three miles east of Gilgit and the other on the road to Nagar between Chalt and Minapin. There is a small Buddha carved on the rocks at the mouth of Kirgah Nullah about 3 miles west of Gilgit, and small Buddhas and Buddhist relics have been found in

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Prof-Takakusu remarks that Ki-pin was used for Kashmir up to the 5th century A.D. Yuan Chwang uses Ka-shu-mi-la but Song Yun writes 'Ki-pin' for Kashmir,

1. *Mahāvaṁsa*, XII, 33, 25
2. *Ibid*.. XXIX, 37
3. Schiefner, p. 23

Yasin." This note testifies to the fact that Buddhism lingered in the part of Kashmir up to a very late date, and the geographical information presented above shows that the culture and beliefs of the ancient people of Kashmir were not very different from those of Gandhāra i. e. the present Rawalpindi, Taxila, Peshawer, etc., where Buddhism flourished in the early days, and that Buddhism may well be pointed out as one of the factors for linking the two peoples.

AŚOKA'S PATRONAGE

In the edicts of Aśoka, the northernmost countries are mentioned as those inhabited by the Yonas, Kambojas and Gandhāras, which must have included the region round about Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra where his edicts were discovered. Kashmir, it seems, come within his ken in the latter part of his life when he saw through his mistake of supporting one section of Buddhist monks to the exclusion of another. The Pali tradition speaks of the earlier part of his life when he adhered to the Theravāda view point. The probability of such a bias for the Theravādins may be traced to his residence in Avanti during the period of his viceroyalty. As it was the principal centre of the Theravādins it was at this time that he imbibed the Theravāda doctrines. The Sanskrit tradition refers evidently to the latter part of his life when he inclined towards the Sarvāstivādins. It is stated in the Pāli chronicles that Aśoka convened a council under the guidance of Moggaliputta Tissa who insisted on recognising as orthodox only those monks who subscribed to the Theravāda view-point, dismissing the rest as un-orthodox. It is not known how far Aśoka carried out his directions, but it will be apparent from the accounts given below that the monks other than the Theravādins, particularly the Sarvāstivādins, had to leave Magadha for some distant regions. Yuan Chwang records the above event in another form. He writes that during Aśoka's reign there was in Magadha a distinguished monk called Mahādeva who was "a subtle investigator of *name and reality* and who

put his extraordinary thoughts in a treatise which taught heresy." An attempt was made to drown into the Ganges these monks who however saved themselves by flying through the air to Kashmir where they settled on the hills and the valleys. On hearing this, Aśoka felt remorse and requested to return, and on their refusal, built for them 500 monasteries and "gave up all Kashmir for the benefit of the Buddhist Church."[1] The fact underlying this story is that the "investigators of *name and reality*" were none other than the Sarvāstivādins, whose principal tenet is that *nāma* and *rūpa* are real and are divisible into 64 elements which exist for ever (*sarvam-asti*), and it is for this they had the apellation of Sarvāstivāda.[2] Then the statement that they resorted to the hills and valleys of Kashmir corroborates the flight of the Sarvāstivādin monks to the north in Kashmir.

Yuan Chwang must have fallen into confusion in regard to the name Mahādeva. There were very probably two persons of this name "one an influential abbot of Pāṭaliputra"[3] who preached the *Devadūta-sūtra*,[4] and the other a monk who introduced the tenets relating to the imperfections of an Arhat.[5] Mahādeva the investigator of *name and reality* must have been a Sarvāstivādin while, the other Mahādeva, who attributed imperfections to an Arhat, was a Mahāsaṅghika.

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1. Waters, I, p. 267
2. See my paper on the Doctrine of the Sardāstivāda School in the *IHQ.*, XIV, pp. 114-20. 799 ff.
3. Watters, I, p: 269
4. *Majjhima*, III, 179
5. Watters, I, p. 268. See my paper on the Doctrine of the Mahāsaṅghika School in the *IHQ.*, XIII, pp. 549-80; XIV, 110ff.

Yuan Chwang urther confused the Theravādins with the Mahāsaṅghikas when he wrote that Aśoka supported the Mahāsaṇghikas as against the Theravādins, and that 500 Arhats left Pāṭaliputra and propagated the Sthavira School in Kashmir, while the majority of the inferior brethren at Pāṭaliputra began the Mahāsaṅghika School.[1] The Mahāsaṅghikas, as we know, lived originally at Vesali and later on passed on to the south, making their principal centre in the Andhra country[2] at Dhanakataka (present Guntur District).

The statement that Aśoka became later on repentant and wanted the monks who fled to Kashmir to return to Magadha may be an indirect reference to the fact recorded in the *Divyāvadān*[3] and *Aśokāvadāna*[4] that Aśoka made an attempt towards the end of his life to reconcile the monks of the different schools of Buddhist thought by convening a council to which he particularly invited the monks living at Tamasāvana in Kashmir. The Ceylonese chronicles maintain a discreet silence over this incident, and this is not unusual in view of the sectarian spirit permeating the chronicles.

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1. Watters, I, p 269
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Divyā.*, p. 399 वसन्ति काश्मीरपुरे सुरम्ये ये चापि धीरास्तमसावनेऽस्मिन्; *JA.*, 1895, pp. 241 ff.
4. Prof. Przyluski writes in his *Legende de l'Empereur Aśoka*, pp. 101, 117 that a council of 30,000 monks was held by sources of information being the *Aśokāvadāna* and Tāranātha (Schiefner, p. 38) but we do not find any such reference in Tāranātha.

The Sarvāstivādins also claim Aśoka as their patron. They ignore the name of Moggaliputta Tissa and put in its stead the name of Upagupta. Their Avadāna literature is full of episodes dealing with the life and munificence of Aśoka. Tāranātha also speaks of his lavish gifts to the Sarvāstivāda monks of Aparantaka, Kashmir and Tukhāra.[1] Kalhaṇa[2] writes that Aśoka not only built Śrīnagarī but also covered Suskaletra and Vitastrā with numerous stūpas, one of which was so high that its pinnacle could not be seen. Yuan Chwang noticed four Aśokan topes, each of which contained relics of Buddha's body. The Avadānas record that Aśoka's liberality to the Buddhist monks was carried to such an excess towards the end of his life that his grandson Sampadi[3] who was in charge of his treasury refused to carry out his commands and even reduced his food to a myrobalan, half of which was the last gift made by him to the Buddhist Saṅgha.

Through the activities of the Sarvāstivādins, Kashmir became a centre of Buddhist philosophical studies and was, according to Tāranātha also the scene of the activities of Vatsa,[4] the propounder of the Ātmaka theory (*pudgalavāda*) and the founder of the Vātsiputrīya or ammitīya school. The monk Vatsa taught that the *pudgala* (individuality) persists through the innnmerable existences of an individual and ceases only on his attainment of Nirvāṇa.[5]

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1. Schiefner, p. 38
2. Stein, I, p. 19
3. *Divyā.*, p. 330. Tib. It has been restored by Schiefner as Vāsavadatta, but it may also be Dhanadā or Sampadi.
4. Schiefner, p. 44
5. See my paper on the Doctrines of the Sammitīya School in the *IHQ.*, XV, pp. 90 ff.

BUDDHISM AND NĀGA BELIEFS

In spite of all the patronage of Aśoka and the glorious accounts of the popularity of Buddhism in Kashmir, the fact remains that Buddhism had to face a strong opposition in the country from the established belief in Nāga-worship. Without adverting to the antiquity of the Nāga-worship it may safely be stated that Nāga beliefs were quite common in India when Buddhism made its appearance and that is the reason why the legend of Nāgas and their conversion by Buddha occur occasionally in the Buddhist texts. In Ceylon, Java, and Indo-China Nāga-worship was no less in vogue, and Buddhism could not help incorporating into itself some of the local beliefs in order to secure a footing in these distant countries. Kashmir was avowedly a land of Nāga-worship. Its two main chronicles the *Nīlamatapurāṇa* and the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* relate how Kashmir was created out of water and left to the care of the Nāgas of whom Nila was the chief. The Buddhist chronicles also speak of Kashmir as a land of lakes under the control of the Nāgas. They are generally associated with watery and mountainous regions, and so it is quite likely that Kashmir should be called a land of Nāga-worshippers,[1] and attribute the origion of rites and ceremonies to Nīla. Buddhism probably undermined the faiths of the people and this was supposed to be possible

1. Traces of Naga-beliefs are still to be found in the names of spots in Kashmir like Verinag, Anantanag, Serhnag, etc.

partly on occount of the *abhiññās* (supernormal powers) acquired by the advanced Buddhist monks. Madhyāntika is said to have succeeded in winning over a large section of the populace by the show of his miraculous powers. Kalhaṇa also states in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, verse I, 178.

ते वादिनः पराजित्य वादेन निखिलान् बुधान् ।
क्रियां नीलपुराणोक्तामच्छिन्दन्नागमद्विषः ॥१७८॥

Translation : The (Buddhist) disputants the Veda-haters after defeating all wise men in disputations brought to an end the rites and ceremonies prescribed in the *Nīlapurāṇa*.

The *Nīlamatapurāṇa* also could not ignore its influence and help prescribing as follows :—

विष्णुर्देवो जगन्नाथः प्राप्ते ब्रह्मण कलौ युगे ।
अष्टाविंशतिमे भावी बुद्धो नाम जगद्गुरु ॥६८४॥
पुष्ययुक्ते निशानाथे वैशाखे मासि काश्यप ।
तस्मात् कालात् अथारभ्य काले भाविण्यतः परम् ॥६८५॥
शुक्ले सम्पूजनं तस्य यथा कार्यं तथा श्रृणु ।
सर्वौषधैः सर्वरत्नैः सर्वगन्धैस्तथैव च ॥६८६॥
बुद्धार्चास्नापनं कार्यं शाक्योक्तैर्वर्णैस्तथा ।
सुधासिताश्च कर्तव्याः शाक्यावासाः प्रयत्नतः ॥६८७॥
क्वचिच्चित्रयुताः कार्यैंश्चैत्या देवगृहास्तथा ।
उत्सवं च तथा कार्यं नटनर्तकसंकुलम् ॥६८८॥
शाक्यानां पूजनं कार्यं चीवराहारपुस्तकैः ।
सर्वमेतद् भवेत् कार्यं यावत् प्राप्ता भवेन् मघा ॥६८९॥

Transl. : O Brahman, in the 28th Kali-yuga, in the month of Vaiśākha on the full-moon day with the conjunction

of Puṣyānakṣatra, Viṣṇu the lord of the world will appear as Buddha the teacher of the world. Listen how his worship is to be performed. In the bright fortnight, the image of Buddha is to be bathed with water containing all herbs, jewels and scents and by uttering the words of Śākya. The place is to be carefully besmeared with honey; the temple and the stūpa are to have painted pictures, and there should be dancing and amusements. The Śākyan worship is performed with *cīvara* (robes), food and books.

BUDDHISM AND ŚIVAISM

The Kashmirian history shows that Aśoka built temples both for Śiva and Buddha and since his regin, the two faiths Buddhism and Śivaism flourished in Kashmir side by side, and even claimed at times the same persons as their devotees. This state of things is not confined to Kashmir. In Tibet, Nepal and even Mongolia in Champa, Java and Burma, the two cults existed side by side, and had common adherents. The explanation that can be offered for such amity between the two religions is that while Buddhism catered to the ethical and philosophical needs of the human mind, Śivaism, or for the matter of that Brahmanism, catered to the devotional and religious needs. Buddhism made no provision for the rites and ceremonies which were almost a part and parcel of Hindu's life, and naturally took no objection to those prescribed by Brahmanism. All that Buddhism demanded of its followers is *maitrī* (love) and *karuṇā* (compassion), and a moral life with faith in Buddha as the liberator of mankind from *duḥkha*. To the unbiassed Hindi mind there is not much of difference between Buddhist and Śaiva doctrines. In both the systems, the highest truth or the ultimate reality is unknowable, Buddhism calling it Nirvāṇa or Śūnyatā, and Śivaism, particularly the Pratyabhijña or the Idealist school of Kashmir, denoting it as Śiva. If Śiva be explained as *śānta*, i. e., undisturbed by birth and death, the Buddhists would have no objection to accept it as

Śūnyatā or Nirvāṇa. Both the systems look upon the phenomenal universe as subject to origin and decay; the caused and conditioned theory of Buddhism corresponds to the reproduction and destruction cult of Śivaism, the fundamental difference between the two being the denial by Buddhism of any real individual self or an infinite self as opposed to the assertion of same by Śivaism or Brahmanism generally. As regards the externals, asceticism and certain mythological and metaphysical ideas may be pointed out as the common features of the two systems. Buddhism favoured asceticism but did not look upon it as the essential means of salvation, while in Śivaism, the ascetic ideal of Śiva is placed as compulsory before every devotee for *sādhanā*. With the appearance of Avalokita and Tārā in the Buddhist pantheon, many mythological and metaphysical ideas woven around Śiva and Durgā were transferred to them while many of the ungainly rites of the Śivaites came to be adopted by the Buddhists of Nepal, Tibet and Mongolia in the worship of the Buddhist gods and goddesses.[1] In Siam and Camboja, the worship of Śiva and Durgā is sometimes described as identical with the worship of Buddha and Prajñā and there is a number of instances of devotees worshipping both Buddha and Śiva in Champa, Camboja, Java and Nepal. The Yueh-chis took to Śiva worship, and Kadphises II and Vasudeva issued coins with Śiva emblems, but Buddhism was no less popular with them. It cannot be said with precision how far the two religions took place within India, but there is no doubt that it did happen in Champa, Camboja, Java, Siam, Nepal and Tibet. In India no two religions are regarded as incompatible and

1. Elliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, II, pp. 118-9, 123; III. 391-2.

the each as equally meritorious. No Hindu will hesitate to light a candle at the tomb of Muslim Fakir ot offer flowers to Jaina or Buddhist image. So Kalhaṇa's statements that kings, queens and ministers of Kashmir from Aśoka downwards built temples both for Śiva and Buddha can be accepted as correct.

THE ANTI-BUDDHISTIC SPIRIT OF AŚOKA'S SUCCESSORS

(232-185 B.C.)

There is yet a great deal of uncertainty about the successors of Aśoka. From the seventh Pillar Edict it is evident that Aśoka had many queens and sons. This is corroborated by the Buddhist legends about Aśoka as also by Tāranātha who says that Aśoka had eleven sons.[1] Names of four sons are known to us through various traditions. They are :—

(i) Tivara, son of queen Kāruvākī of the Aśokan inscriptions Viceroy of Takṣaśilā, Ujjayidī, Suvarnagiri and Tosali;[2]

(ii) Kuṇāla (also known as Dharma-vivardhana and Suyaśas) son of queen Padmāvatī; he was deputed to Takṣaśilā for suppressing the rising of the frontier tribes, and was rendered blind through the machinations of his step-mother Tiṣyarakṣitā;[3]

(iii) Machinda, son of the Vidisa lady marrid by Aśoka while he was a Vcery at Ujjayinī. He was the famous apostle of Buddhism to Ceylon[4]; and

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1. Schiefner, p. 48
2. Raychaudhury, *op. cit.*, p. 237
3. Raychaudhury, p. 238; Watters, I, p. 246; Przyluski, *La Legende etc.* p. 109; Schiefner, p. 48
4. *Mahāvaṁsa*, ch v.

(iv) Jalauka nf the Kashmirian tradition.

Of the grandsons of Aśoka, the names of only two have come down to us :—

(i) Sampadi or Viśoka[1] (restored from Tibetan by Schiefner as Vītāśoka or Vigatāśoka), son of Kuṇāla He acted as Aśoka's treasurer and stopped the king's unending largess to the Buddhist Saṅgha and later on succeeded him.[2]

(ii) Daśaratha of the Purāṇic tradition and Aśokan inscriptios, the patron of the Ājīvikas.

There is very little informatiod about the succeeding rulers of the Mauryan line;[3] the last is said to be Bṛhadratha, whose assasinator is wrongly recorded in the *Divyāvadāna* (p. 433) as the last Maurya king.[4]

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1. See *Mmk* , p. 610; Schiefner, pp. 40, 48; Bu-ston, II, p. 118; *Divyā*; p. 430; Watters, II, p. 100; Raychaudhury, *op. cit.*, p. 238. Przyluski, *op. cit.*, p. 240.
2. Schicfner restors Vigatāśoka from Tib. which may as well be restored as Viśoka as given in *Mmk.*, p. 610

   Nanda is described as the grandson of Viśoka and son of Śūrasena (not Vīrasena). See *Mmk.*, p. 613; Watters, II, p. 97; Schiefner, p. 53
3. According to Tāranātha, Aśoko was succeeded by his grandson Viśoka-Viśoka's son Śūrasena (or Vīrasena)—his son Nanda who was a contemporary of Pāṇini—then Mahāpadma (Schiefner, p. 52) whose contemporaries were Sthiramati, Bhadra and Vararuci.

   Another tradition (see Schiefner, p. 287) Sampadi—Bṛhaspati—Vṛṣasena, Puṣyavarman—Puṣyamitra.
4. See Raychaudhury, p. 240

The lavish gifts made by the Emperor on the various religious organisations and specially on the Buddhist Saṅgha met with a natural reaction in the hands of his successors. They discarded the religion and expressed their antipathy by embracing and supporting Jainism, Ājīvikism and Śivaism to the exclusion of Buddhism.

The story of Jalauka, as given in the *Rājataraṅginī*,[1] reveals that he supported the Nāga and Śiva cults of Kashmir and persecuted the Buddhists. The legend of Kṛtyā refers to him as one who persecuted the Buddhists and destroyed the vihāras. except that his heart was softened by the Bodhisattva ideal—the new aspect of Buddhism that had just then emerged. The Hīnayāna Buddhist are painted in black as they are described as bent on taking revenge for his cruel acts. He built the Kṛtyāśrama vihāra and dedicated it not to Buddha but this sorceress Kṛtyā. He directed his energies and munificence to the erection of Śiva tempeles and, possibly, it was an attempt to resuscitate Śivaism which had waned in Kashmir owing to the popularity of Buddhism under Aśoka's patronage.

The anti-Buddhistic spirit of Daśratha may be inferred from his gifts to the Ājīvikas and the silence of the Buddhist texts about his existence. Sampadi's disapproval of Aśoka's gifts to the Buddhist Saṅgha; the Jaina accounts of his activities for the propagation of Jaina faith and the establishment of vihāras for śramaṇas in non-Aryan countries[2] and Tāranātha's

1. *Rājat*, 1. 136, 140-4; see Kṣemendra's *samayamātṛkā*, v. 61 re. Kṛtyāśrama-vihāra.
2. Raychaudhury, *op. cit.* p. 239. See also *IHQ.*, 1930., p. 343

discreet silence over the events of his rule indicate also his anti-Buddhistic spirit.

The climax of anti-Buddhistic feelings of Aśoka's successors is narrated in the *Divyāvadāna* and *Aśokavadāna*, in which Puṣyamitra is described as wishing to surpass his renowned predecessor Aśoka by undoing the work done by him. He razed the stupas and vihāras to the ground and put the price of 100 Dināras for the head of every Buddhist śramaṇa.[1] We need not go into the question whether Puṣyamitra was of Mauryan descent, or a Brahmin general of Bṛhadratha; the fact remains that Aśoka's grandsons and their successors played havoc with the Buddhist monks and establishments from one end of India to the other including the valley of Kashmir.

1. Przyluski, p. 301-2; *Divyā.*, 434 p.; Schiefner, p. 81

THE GREEKS AND THE ŚAKAS

The only rule important for the history of Buddhism between the reigns of Puṣyamitra and Kanishka is that of the Greek king Menander.[3] The *Milindapañha* is our best source for information about the same, and the date of its Sanskrit original written in the same. and the date of its Sanskrit original written in the north may safely to be the 1st century B.C. This treatise is particularly important for the history of Buddhism of Kashmir on account of the fact that the scene of discussions between Milinda and Nāgasena is laīd in a spot 12 yojanas from Kashmir and 200 yojanas from Alasanda or Kalasigāma.[1] The author of the work is familiar with the people of the north and he refers twice of Śaka-Yavana, Cīna-vilāta, Alasanda, Nikumba, Kashmir and Gandhāra, i.e. the region round about Kashmir.[2]

As regards king Milinda, the work says that he at first be came a lay-devotee, built the Milinda-vihāra and then after some time handed over the reins of his administration to his son, joined the Buddhist Saṅgha as a monk, and ultimately attained *arhathood.*[3]

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1. *Milindapāñha*, pp. 82-3
2. *Milinda*, p. 327 : Vilāta—Tukhāra (Tokharistan), a Mleccha country. (Cf. Nāgārjunikoṇḍa Inscr. in *Epi Indica*. xx, i.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 420

Though only two Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions incised at the instance of the Greek chiefs have been discovered at Swat[1] and Taxila,[2] they show that Buddhism obtained a firm footiug in N.W. India and was welcomed by the foreign rulers.[3]

Like the Greeks, the Śakas also embraced Buddhism, made donations to the Buddhist Saṅgha, erected stūpas on the relics of Śākyamuni,[4] constructed vihāras. and installed images of Buddha in them.

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1. *CII.*, II, i, p. 4 : "By Theodoros the Meridarkh were established these relics of the Lord Śākyamuni for the purpose of security of many people."
2. *Ibid.*, p. 5 : "By......the Meridarkh together with his wife the stūpa was established of his parents for the presentation of a respectful offering."
3. *Ibid.*, p. 49
4. *CII.*, II, i, pp. 29 ff.

THE KUSHANAS

Following the Śaka-Yavanas, the Kushanas also adopted Buddhism as their religion and showed their munificence by erecting stūpas, temples and images of Buddha all over N. India. The earlier Kushanas like Kadphises II, as their coins indicate, were Śiva-worshippers, but Kanishka and his successors, as their inscriptions and monuments prove, showered their gifts on the Buddhist Saṅgha, particularly on the Sarvāstivādins[1] and occasionally on the Mahāsaṅghikas.[2]

Since the demise of Aśoka, Buddhism withstood several repercussions and survived in N.W. India by the patronage of Śaka-Yavanas and the Kushanas. In the reign of Kanishka, it once more came to the forefront of India religions and recovered its lost glory. The Buddhist eclesiastical historians pass silently over the dark period of Buddhism intervening between the reigns of Aśoka and Kanishka, and resume their accounts with the advent of Kanishka.[3]

1. *CII.*, II, i, pp. 137, 145, 155, 176
2. *Ibid.*, Wardak Vase Inscription, p. 170
3. Tāranātha has referred to the reigns of Viśoka, Nanda and Mahāpadma and mentions nothing of importance in connection with the history of Buddhism.

KANISHKA AND HIS SUCCESSORS

The region of Kanishka is of outstanding importance foı the history of Buddhism in N. India. It is marked by donations from several lay-devotees and monks to the Buddhist Saṅgha, evideneces of with have been unearthed by the ārcheological department of the Government of India. The session of the fourth Council, the composition of the Vibhāṣā śāstras, the appearance of distinguished writers, and the propagation of Buddhism outside India are some of the factors which render this reign so glorious in the history of Buddhism.

Of the succcssors of Kanishka, we come across the names of only Vāsishka and Huvishka in the several inscriptions relating to this period. Kalhaṇa mentions the names of three successors Hushka, Jushka and Kanishka (I.168). The Wardak Vase Inscription discloses the Buddhistic leanings of Huvishka but there is no clear evidence about such leanings of Vāsishka. Tāranātha[1] however tells us that the son of Kanishka maintained several arhants and bhikṣus in his Puṣkalāvati palaces for five years. Kalhaṇa informs us that Hushka, Jushka and Kanishka (II) built Hushkapura (mod. Uskur),[2] Jushkapura (mod. Zukur)[3] and Kanishkapura (mod. Kanespur),[4] and that

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1. Schiefner, ch. XIII.
2. It is now a small village near Baramūlā, see Stein, i, 168 n.
3. It is a large village near Srinagar. *Ibid.*
4. It is between Vitastā and the high road conneeting Baramūla and Srinagar, *Ibid.*

these kings, though belonging to the Turuska race, were given to acts of piety. They erected Maṭhas and Caityas at Suskaletra and other places, and the Buddhists of that time acquired great renown as *pravrajitas* (recluses) and were predominant in Kashmir, defeating their opponents in disputations.

Though the available accounts of the Kushan rulers are meagre, there are yet ample proofs that Buddhism enjoyed the most prosperous time during this rule all over N. India and specially in Gandhāra and Kashmir. The Council held under the auspices of Kanishka in Kashmir and the valuable work done in the Council bear an eloquent testimony to their influence and popularity.

THE COUNCIL

Tāranātha commences the story of the Council with the conversion of king Siṁha of Kashmir to Buddhism. It is said that king Siṁha became an *arhat* and his name after ordination was Sudarśana. He preached the religion in Kashmir. Kanishka was then the king of Jalandhara. He heard of Sudraśana and came to Kashmir to listen to his discourses.[1]

The Buddhist Saṅgha was then divided into eighteen schools. The Venerable Pārśva had come to Kashmir from the east, and advised Kanishka to collect all the monks at Kuṇḍalavanavihāra[2] (in Kashmir). 500 Arhats, 500 Bodhisattvas and 500 Paṇḍitas[3] took part in the Council.[4] An attempt was made to reconcile the conflicting opinions of the different schools and settle once more the flicting opinions on the different schools and sattle once more the Vinaya, Sūtra and Abhidharma texts. Bu-ston gives an account similar to the above

1. Schiefner, chapter XII. There is a Kashmiran king of this name in the *Rājataraṅgiṇi*. It may be that king Siṁha was only a prince. Buston (II. p. 160) preserves a tradition that studorśana delivered the teaching (of Vinaya) to Anāgāmin and the latter to Anivartitabuddhi who in his turn imparted it to Guṇaprabha.
2. Tib. Chinese : Kien tho lo.
3. Tib. Pṛthagjona-paṇḍita, i.e. the paṇḍitas who are not stotāpanas. Bu-ston, II. p. 97
4. Schiefner, p. 60

THE VIBHĀṢĀ-ŚĀSTRAS

By the expression *Vibhāṣa-śāstra*, Paramārtha has in view only the disquisitions on Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma text while Yuan Chwang means, by the expression, expository commentaries not only on Abhidharma but also on Sūtra and Vinaya, the commentaries on Sūtras being only distinguished as *Updeśa* and not as *Vibhāsā-Sāstras* exist only in Chinese translation and have not yet been studied adequately. About the merits of the works Yuan Chwang tells us that in these "there is evidence of great study and research. In them we find an extraordinary insight into the Buddhist lore of various kinds and also into the Brahmanical learning, Indian alphabets, and the Vedas and their Aṅgas."[1]

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1. Watters, I, p.278

DISTINGUISHED ĀCĀRYAS

The composition of the *Vibdāsa-śāstras* in Kashmir indicates that Kashmir grew up to be an academic centre attracting distinguished ācāryas from other places.[1] The accounts of the Chinese trabellers and Paramārtha show that Katyāyanīputra, Aśvaghoṣa, Vasubandhu, Vasumitra, Dharmatrāta, Saṅghabhadra, Visuddhasiṁha, Jinabandhu, Sugatamitra, Sūryadeva, Jinatrāta,[2] Kanakavatsa[3], and many other distinguished teachers and writers lived in Kashmir, from the time of Kanishka. Tāranāth tells us that duriug the reign of Kanishka one wealthy brahmin called Śūtra maintained the Vaibhāṣika teacher Dharmatrāta and the earliest Sautrāntika teacher Mahābhadanta Sthavira along with their disciples.[4] Dharmatrāta is well-known as one of the four renowned acāryas of the Vaibhāṣika school, the

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1. Buston, II, p. 142 : A great number of Pratyekabuddhas had formely expressed in their entreaties the desire that country should be the place where the Abhidharma was to be spread.
2. Watters, I, p. 283
3. Buston, II, p. 122
4. The Tib. text (p. 47, I, 10-11) is as follows :
   Schiefner translates it thus : den ersten der Sautrāntika's den Kāsmīraschen grossen geehrten Sthavira mit einer Schaar von 5000 Bhikṣus fortwahrend beehrte.
   Can the Mahābhadanta be Śrīlābha? See Schiefner p. 67

being Ghoṣaka of Tukhāra, Vasumitra of Maru, and Buddhadeva of Vārāṇaśī.[1] One Dharmatrāta, accordidg to the Chinese tradition is the uncle of Vasumitra, to whom is attributed the authorship of the *Pañcavastu-vibhāṣā-śāstra*, *Saṁyuktābhidharma-hṛdaya.śāstra*, etc.[2] In the Sui Vihāra copper-plate inscription[3] one Dharmatrāta is mentioned as the disciple of Bhava (Bhavya) and teacher of Nagadata (Nāgadatta). In the present state of our knowledge, it is not possible to state whether the Dharmatrātas are one and the same person or different. Vasumitra is another famous figure of Kashmir, but there are five authors bearing this name.[4] In the *Tattvasamgraha*, *Kamalaśila* discuses the opinions of Dharmatrāta and Vasumitra but we do not know which Dharmatrāta and Vasumitra were in his mind. The Sautrāntika teacher Śrīlābha was an inhabitant of Kashmir.[5] He was a disciple of Kuṇāla. Saṁghabhadra was another Kashmirian ācārya, who was a profound scholar of the Vibhāṣā śāstras of the Sarvāstivāda school."[6] He wrote a commentary on Vasumitra's *Prakaraṇapada* and was the author of the *Abhidharmāvatāra-śāstra*.[7] One of his distinguished students is Vasubandhu,[8] who studied with him the Vibāṣas, the śāstras of the 18 schools, the Sūtras and Vinayas, the six systems of philosophy and the art of dialectics. He compressed the Abhidharma texts and their Vibhāṣas in his *Abhidharmakoṣa* and *Bhāṣya*, and sent them to the Kashmir

1. Watters, I, p. 241-5; Schiefner, p. 297
2. See Nanjio, p. 375
3. *CII.*, II, i, p. 141
4. For details, see *Asia Major*, II p. 7-8
5. Schiefner, pp. 67, 79
6. Watters, I, p. 325
7. Watters, I, p. 280
8. Bu-ston, II, p. 142

Vaibhakṣikas who were greatly pleased with them.[1] Vasubandhu later on turned from the Sarvāstivāda point of view to the Sautrāntika as is evidenced in the expression of his opinions in the *Bhāṣya*, and which elicied vehement criticisms from Saṅghabhadra who was a staunch Sarvāstivādin and wrote two treatises to refute Vasubandhu's later views.[2]

Guṇaprabha and Vimalamitra are the two other teachers whose names occur in the *Records* of Yuan Chwang. Guṅaprabha is mentioned by Tāranātha and Bu-ston as a great authority on the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins and as the author of several works.[3] Yuan Chwang to the monastery at Matipur where he composed his treatises As regards Vimalamitra, Yuan Chwang[4] writes that he "was a native of Kashmir and an adherent of the Sarvata (i.e. Sarvāstivāda) school having made a profound study of canonical and heterodox scriptures, and had travelled in India to learn mysteries ol the Tripiṭaka."

1. Watters I, p. 210-1; Bu-ston II, p. 143
2. Bu-ston II, p. 144; Watters, I, p. 325; Schiefner, p. 126
3. Watters, I, p. 327
4. One of his disciples Mitrasena was met by Yuan Chwang. I, p. 328 Bu-ston (II, p. 161) says that one of Guṇprabha was Dharmamitra.

REVERSES MET BY BUDDHISM

(5th century A.C. and after)

Some time after the Kushan rule, Buddhism again fell on evil days. Tāranātha[1] reports that a *mleccha* faith called 'Ardho' appeared for the first time in India and secured many followers. The *mleccha* religion was perhaps confined to Makh ι[2] and did not spread to Kashmir. Tāranātha then refers to the royal families of Saitā and Turuṣka,[3] stating that king Turuṣka ruled in Kashmir for too years as a Dharmarāja, but destroyed the vihāras of Magadha and put the monks of Nalanda to flight.[4] Then Mahāsammata, son of Turuska brought under one rule the kingdoms of Kashmir, Tukhāra and Ghazni and helped the spread of Mahāyāna teaching.[5] The *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* refers to one Turuṣka who ruled over

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1. Schiefner, p. 79. Tib., p. 63, 1.3 : Tib. Kla. Klo may be Mleccha or Tukhāras. Cf. *Mmk.*, p. 621-2 Schiefner, pp. 78, 304 : They killed cows by uttering *Bismillā*.
2. "Makha" is mentioned by Bu-ston (II, p. 171) as one of the countries where Buddhism spread and disappeared. It is perhaps Mecca (Schiefner, p. 80); the founder of the religion is Mamathar (=Muhammad?) and the teacher is called Paikhampa (=Paygambar?).
3. Tib. (p. 64)
4. Schiefner, p. 94; Bu-ston II, p. 119.
5. Schiefner, pp. 103 ff.

the Uttarāpatha up to the gate of Kashmir.[1] He was a pious Buddhist and during his reign Mahāyānism, specially the teaching of the *Prajñāpāramitā*, spread in the north. After him appeared Mahāturuṣka who also erected Buddhist temples and monasteries and propagated the *mantra* and worship of Tārādevī.[2] In the *Mañjūśrimūlakalpa*, the Turuṣka king is referred to as "Gomi"[3] and his successor as Buddhapakṣa, who, according to both Tāranātha and *Manjuśrīmūlakalpa*, made good the loss suffered by Buddhism on occount of the vandalism of his predecessor by re-erecting several temples and monasteries.[4] Tāranātha adds that he erected many *Caityas* in Ghazni[5] and invited to Kashmir Vasubandhu's disciple Saṅghadāsa who founded Ratnaguptavihāra in Kashmir and spread the Mahāyāna teaching there for the first time.[6]

The Turuṣka lord was very likely the well-known persecutor of Buddhism, Mihirakula, whose date of accession is placed at 515 A.C. The Chinese traditions as also Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅginī* speak of his cruel nature, and his vendetta against the king of Siṁhala Perhaps there was some sort of provocation from the Buddhists.[7] which incited him to pull

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1. *Mmk.*, p. 623.
2. *Ibid.*,
3. Gomimukhya, Gomiṣaṇḍa. Cf. Gollas of Kosmas Indikopleustes and his coin-legends : jayatu vṛṣadhaja. Stein, I, p. 43 fn.
4. *Mmk.*, pp. 619-620; Schiefner, p. 94-5.
5. Schiefner, p. 103.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 135.
7. Kalhaṇa, I, 294; Buston, II p. 137.

down the Buddhist temples and monasteries all over Northern India, and massacre the monks. The inhuman cruelties and depredations perpetrated by the White Hun ruler were, according to Yuan Chwang,[1] checked by Bālāditya of Magadha, but there was none in Kashmir to check his atrocious acts of destroying stupas and monasteries and exterminating even the lay adherents of Buddhism, until his complete overthrow by Yaśodharman. Following Tāranātha, Bu-ston and *Mmk.*, Kalhaṇa tels us that his son Baka (=Mahāsammata of Tāranātha, Buddhapakṣh of *Mmk.* and Bhadanta of Bu-ston who brought Kashmir. Tukhāra and Ghazni under one rule, atoned for his predecessor's sins by erecting caityas and monasteries for the Buddhists.

It is written by both Kalhaṇa and Tāranātha that Buddhism had a serious set-back in Kashmir after the reign of Kanishka II. The former relates (I. 180-1, 199) that after Nāgārjuna, during whose time "the Bauddhas obtained preponderence in land by defeating in disputation all learned opponents," there were excessive snowfalls killing the Bauddhas; and king Nara, on account of the crime of a Buddhist monk, flew into rage and "burned thousand of Buddhist monk, flew into rage and "burned thousands of Buddhist vihāras" while the latter informs us that when Nāgārjuna left N India went to the south, the religion of the Mlecchas prospered.[2]

Though it is difficult to make out a dependable account out of these traditions, it may be assumed that after the Kushanas a Turuṣka royal family ruled over Kashmir. It may

1. Watters, I, pp. 288-289.
2. Schiefner, pp. 84-5.

be the family of Turki Sāhis who held sway over Northern India for about a hundred years from the third century A.C. The Turki Sāhis were supporters of Buddhism, and so the religion must have prospered under their rule. It must have been sometime after the disappearance of this royal family that Mihirakula came to the throne of Kashmir and massacred the Buddhists. Towards the end of his life, Mihirakule became a worshipper of Śiva and "established pious observances in the lands occupied by the impure Daradas, Bhauṭṭas and Mlecchas" (I. 312-6). Mihirakula's son recompensed his father's cruel acts by restoring some of the ruined temples and monasteries.

NARENDRĀDITYA AND KHIṄKHILA PRATĀPADITYA

Baka was followed a few generations later by Narendrāditya Khiṅkhila (1.347). There are a few coins bearing the legends Deva Sahi Khiṅgila, Śrī Narendra establishing the historicity of this king. Narendrāditya was a worshipper of Śiva and made endowments for the Brahmanas. He was succeeded by his son Yudhiṣṭhira I. The people of Kashmir deposed him and brought Pratāpāditya, a relative of Vikramāditya, from outside and placed him on the throne (II. 5). This new line of rulers worshipped Śiva, the last king of the dynasty being Tunjina.

JAYENDRA AND SAMDHIMAT

Tunjina was succeeded by Vijaya belonging to a different family. Vijaya's son Jayendra had a long and glorious reign excepting that it was stained by the attempt to kill his very popular minister Samdhimat who ultimately ascended the throne of Kashmir. Saṁdhimat ruled for a long time, built Śiva temples and practised Śaiva-sādhanās. His end was also unhappy, as he was compeled by the people to retire.

MEGHAVĀHANA

Meghavāhana, a descendant of Yudhiṣṭhira I, was brought by the people from Gandhāra and placed on the throne (III. 2). He had a soft corner for Buddhism hailing as he did from Gandhāra a predominantly Buddhistic country. His queen Amṛtaprabhā of Prāgjyotiṣa is said to have built for the use of Buddhist monks a lofty vihāra called Amṛtabhavana (III. 9), to which a reference is made by Ou K'ong. Her guru was a Tibetan, a native of Loh (i.e. Ladakh). His other queens also built monasteries and stūpas of which the one built by Khādanā is locatad at Khādaniya "about 4 miles below Varāha mūla on the right bank of the Vitastā."[1]

Meghavāhana eherished also some Aśokan ideas inasmuch as he himself was not only keen about observing the *dharma* but compelled his neighbouring kings to abstain from killing living beings (III. 27). With him are associated some *Avadānas* which cxtol his extreme sacrifices for the sake of others. His services to Buddhism were so great that the people attributed to his pious deeds an atonement for the sins of his forefather Mihirakula (III. 57). The long rule of this line of kings was only once interrupted by the rule of the poet Matrigupta far four years as a viceroy of Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī. The kings were mostly worshippers of Śiva and supporters of Brahmanism, but during the reign of Pravarsena II, the king's maternal uncle Jayendra buiit the Jayendra-

1. Stein, Intro., I, p. 74n. See *infra*, p. 37-8.

vihāra[1] and placed in it the clossal statue of Buddha, known as Bṛhadbuddha. In this vihāra, Yuan Chwang stayed and received inctructions in the various Śāstras.[2]

During the reign of Yudhiṣṭhira II, his ministers constructed vihāras and caityas (III. 380-1), one of which is Skandabhavana-vihāra built by Skandagupta.[3] During the reign of Raṇāditya, one of his queens called Amṛtaprabhā placed a fine statue of Buddha in the vihāra built by a queen of Meghavāhana (III. 464). Raṇāditya was succeeeded by his son Vikramāditya who was a devotee of Śiva. His minister Galuṇa had a vihāra built in the name of his wife Ratnāvalī (III. 476). The last king of this line was Bālāditya.

1. It offered shelter to king Pārtha and his queens (V. 428), and was destroyed later on by Kṣemagupta. See *infra* p. 31.
2. Stein, I, p. 103 n.
3. It is located by Stein at Khandabavan, in Srinagar (Stein, I, p. 105n.)

LALITĀDITYA MUKTĀPĪḌA

(Middle of the 8th century A.C.)

Bālāditya was succeeded by his son-in-law, Durlabhavardhana, whose queen set up the Anaṅgabhavana-vihāra (IV. 3) referred to by Ou K'ong as Ananda or Anaṅga vihāra.[1] The King himself as also his successors were mostly Visnu-Worshippers. The noted king of this line was Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa who successfully fought against Yaśovarman (IV. 134). It was after this war that he created for the better management of his vast dominion a few high effices which were filled up mostly by the Sāhis and other princes (IV. 143). He brought under his control a large portion of Northern India as also his neighbouring tribes the Tukhāras, the Bhauṭṭas and the Daradas (IV. 166 f.; cf. I. 312). The king showed his highest veneration to Viṣṇu and then to Śiva and last of all to Buddha. He built Viṣṇu and Śiva temples and also Buddhist vihārās and stūpas (IV. 188, 201-3). He crected the "ever-rich Rājavihāra with a Catuḥśālā (refectory), a large Caitya and placed in it a large image of Buddha[2] (IV. 200). In one of these vihāras lived Bhikṣu Sarvajñamitra, the author of *Śragdharstotra* and a nephew of a king of Kashmir. His chief minister was Caṅkuna who put up two vihāras, one of which was very lofty

1. See *infra*, p. 37.
2. Stein (II, pp. 302-3) has traced some remains of this vihāra at Paraspur. The image was spared by king Harṣa. See *infra* p. 33.

and contained golden images of Buddha (IV. 215, 211). His son-in-law Īśānacandra, a physician, built also a vihāra (IV. 216). Caṅkuna was credited as a Tantric Buddhist with the acquisition of some magical powers by which he charmed the king. At the king's request, he imparted the charms to him and took in return the image of Buddha which had been brought by Lalitāditya from Magadha. Bot Kalhaṇa and Ou K'ong testify to its existence [1]

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1. *Rājat*. iv. 262. and Stein, I, p. 144n.

JAYĀPĪḌA

One of the notable kings of this line was Jayāpīḍa. Kalhaṇa records that he owes the throne to a Caṇḍāla called Śrideva who killed the usurper Jajjā (IV. 475) and remained always guarded by the fierce Caṇḍālas (IV. 516) specially at night. He bore an antipathy to the Brahmanas whom he treated very cruelly (IV. 640 ff.). He loved learning and assembled learned men in his court (IV. 488-9). He worshipped both Viṣṅu and Buddha, and set up Viṣṇu temples, Buddha images and a large vihāra (IV. 484, 507-8) in his capital Jayapura. Very probably it was during his reign that Śāntiprabha lived in Kashmir along with his disciples Punyakīrti, Dānśīla, Viśeṣamitra, Prajñāvarman and Ācārya Śura.[1]

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1. Schiefner, p. 204; II, p. 161.

AVANTIVARMAN (855 A D.)

Jayāpīḍa was followed by Avantivarman, who along with his ministers showed veneration to Viṣṇu and Śiva. Like Jayāpīḍa he patronised learning, and prohibited the killing of living beings (V. 64). During his reign Bhaṭṭa Kallaḷa and other Siddhas appeared in the country (V.66). This seems to indicate that about this time Tantric made some headway in Kashmir. The king was a devotee of Viṣṇu, a fact disclosed to his minister Śura only at the time of his death (IV. 124-5).

ŚAṀKARAVARMAN AND PĀRTHA

Avantivarman's son Śaṅkaravarman was a Śiva worshipper. He was misery and exacted too many taxes from the people. He was uncharitable to learned men and used to speak Apabhraṁśa and not Sanskrit. His queen Sugandhā who ruled for two years was a devotee of Viṣṇu but had to spend her last days in a Buddhist monastery called Nispālaka-vihāra (V. 262). Another king of this line called Pārtha was dethroned though ministerial intrigues and took shelter in the Joyendra-vihāra (see p. 28) where the inmates of the monastery supplied him and his queens with food (V. 428). It was about this time that the Brahmanas regained their ascendancy and were able to place on the throne a king of their own choice, viz., Yaśaskara who was not of royal descent.

YAŚASKARA (939-948) AND KṢEMAGUPTA (950-8)

Yaśaskara's rule was marked by an effective administration of justice and equal treatment to the high and low without any discrimination of caste and creed.

Kśemagupta, one of his successors. burnt down the Jayendra-vihāra (*ate* p. 28) and took the brass of the images of Buddha, and utlised the stones of the Vihara for erecting a a Śiva temple. He appropriated also the 32 villages which belonged to the vihāra (VI. 172-3, 175).

SAṀGRĀMARĀJA (1003-1028) AND HIS SUCCESSORS

By the marriage of Kśemagupta to Diddā, tha Sāhi's granddaughter, the Sāhi prince since the reign of Lalitāditya Muktāpīda became more and more influential in the Kashmir court.

Towards the end of her sinful life Diddā was able to place her nephew Saṁgrāmrāja on the throne of Kashmir. He sent a large army to help Sāhi (Trilocanapāla (VII, 47-8) but to no effect, as the Sāhis were completely routed by the Turuṣkas under Hammira. From now on the Sāhi princes took shelter in the Kashmir court and acquired great influence during the reign of Ananta, the grandson of Saṁgrāmarāja (VII. 146 f.). One of the Sāhi refugees was Rudrapāla, who become the righthand man of king Ananta. He fought against the Daradas and defeated them (VII. 175, 375). At this time an epidemic carried away Rudrapāla and many of the Sāhi princes (VII. 178). After Ananta, his son Kalasa came the the throne. He also had four princes. of the Sāhi family as his best companions[1] (VII. 274) of whom Vijjā was the most trusted and favoured. Towards the end of his life he destroyed the copper-image of Sūrya and appropriated without fear the brass images of the vihāras (VII. 696).

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1. Vijjā calls himself a Rājaputra, VII. 325, 368.

HARṢA (1089-1101)

Kalasa's on was Utkarṣa, who was followed by his son Harṣa a highly gifted prince and a master of all branches of leārning (VII. 610). He is called by Kalhaṇa Turuṣka and said to have supported the Turuṣka merceneries (VII, 1095, 1149). Being a Turuṣka he was a *mleccha* by faith,[1] as otherwise he could not have destroyed the Hindu and Buddhist temples. Kalhaṇd writes that "divine images of gold, silver and other materials were rolled about even on the roads, which were covered with nightsoil" (VII. 1093). He spared from spolitation only the temple of Raṇasvāmin and Mārtaṇḍa and spared the two clossal statues of Buddha (of which one was at Parihāsapura built by king Lalitāditya and the other at Srinagar, known as the BṛhadBuddha) at the request of his favourite singer Kaṇaka and the śramaṇa Kuśalaśrī (VII. 1095-8). Tāranātha records that during his reign three distinguished teachers of Buddhism, viz., Śākyamati. Śīlabhadra and Yaśomitra, lived ln Kashmir.[2] Yaśomitra was a king's son and is well-known by his *tīka*[3] on Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya.* The Kashmirian Harṣa was a debauch and a cruel and greedy king, and his reign, as Kalhaṇa reports, is marked by unjust exactions, and attempts at conquest of the neighbouring tribes. Vijayamalla his chief adviser rebelled against him and joined the Daradas who were then ruled by Vidyādhara Sāhi, but his attemnts humiliate Harṣa were of no avail (VII. 911).

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1. See Stein, I, p. 353n. Sāranātha (p. 128) speaks of one Śrīharṣadeva as having propagated Mleccha faith but he is of an earlier date, being a contemporary of Dignāga.
2. Schizefner, p. 205.
3. Now being edited by Dr. N. N. Law in the C. O. Series.

JAYASIMHA (1128-49)

King Harṣa was succeeded by Uccala, a descendent of Kāntirāja, another brother of Diddā the Sāhi princess. Jayamatī, queen of Uccala, erected two monasteries, one of which was in honour of her sister Sullā (VII. 247-8). This, it is said, was completed by king Jayasiṁha (VIII. 3818) the illustrious ruler who succeeded Uccala. King Jayasiṁha patronised literary men and there was once more a revival of learning in Kashmir. He looked after the Maṭhas and Vihāras, the first of which that attracted his attention was the one built by his queen Ratnādevī (VIII. 2402. 2433). His chief minister Rilhaṇa was also very pious. He showed his veneration to both Śiva and Buddha and erected a monastry in memory of his deceased wife Sussalā (VIII. 2510-1). Sussalā must have been a great devotee of Buddha as she erected, on the site of the famous Caṅkuna-Vihāra which had been destroyed, a magnificient establishment for the Buddhist monks (VIII. 2417). Cintā, wife of Jayasiṁha's commander Udaya, adorned the bank of the Vitastā by a monastery consisting of five buildings (VII. 3352-3), and Dhanya, one of the ministers, commenced the construction of a vihāra in honour of his late wife (VIII. 3343-4). Evidently therefore the reign of Jayasiṁha was marked by a revival of Buddhist faith in Kasmir.

THE SAHIS OF KASHMIR

One of our Gilgit mss.[1] mentions in the colophon the name of *Śrīdeva Surendra Vikramādity Nanda* and the spot of this ms. find is in the Dard country where the Sāhis later on found their asylum. Dr. H.C. Ray has dealt exhaustively with the history of the Sāhis of Afganistan and the Punjab,[2] and has furnished us with a list of coins bearing the names of the rulers. It will be observed that "Śrīdeva" forms a part of all these names. It seems that the title "Vikramādity" occuring in the ms. got currency in Kashmir since the reign of Pratāpāditya, who was a nephew of Vikramāditya.

Prof. Sylvain Levi[3] thinks that "the Turk dynasty of Kipin is identical with Al-biruni's Sahiyas of Kabul and Kalhaṇa's Sāhi dynasty. The Sāhi princes, according to the testimony of Al-biruni, were Turks of Tibetan origin and were zealous followers of Buddhism. The Buddhist dynasty of Sāhis continued without interruption upto the ninth century when they were replaced by a Brahmanic dynasty carrying the dynasty carrying the same title, and which dynasty exised up to the 11th century."[4]

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1. See *Bhaiṣajyagurusūtra*, p. 32
2. *Dynastic His. of N. India*, vol. I, ch. ii. See above, p. 27.
3. *JA.*, 1895, p. 381.
4. Sge Albirūnī (Sachau), II. pp. 10 ff.

Kalhaṇa furnishes up with the following account of the career of the Sāhis in Kashmir :

During the reiga of Śaṅkaravarman, we hear of the appearance of Lailiya Sāhi, who ruled over the region between the Daradas and the Turuṣkas, the located his capital at Udabhāṇḍapura, (IV. 152-5). During the reign of Śaṅkaravarman's son Gopālavarman, the minister Prabhākaradeva proficient in the *Kākhorda*[1] witchcraft carried on expeditions against the Sāhis of Udabhāṇḍapura but later on bestwoed the same on Lalliya's son Tormāna (V. 233). The Tantrin soldiers and Dombas came into prominance about this time (A. C. 936-7). The Sāhi's grand-daughter Diddā was married to king Kṣemagupta. She became afterwards the queen regent her commander-in-chief Yaśodhara led an expedition against the Sāhi rule Ṭhakkana and captured him (VI. 230-1). Towards the end of her life Diddā made some pious foundations, one of which was a vihāra with a large Catuḥśālā meant for use by the Kashmirian and the Daiśikas. She was succeeded by her brother's son Saṅgrāmarāja on the throne of Kashmir (1003-1028 A. D.). Kalhaṇa tells us that it was during the reign of Saṅgrāmarāja that the Sāhi kingdom of Trilocanapāla was destroyed by the Turuṣkas under Hammira (VII. 669), and it was brought to an end during the reign of Harṣa; one of his ministers incited Vidyādhara Sāhi the ruler of Dards to fight against Harṣa.

The Sāhis had their first sent on the west and south of Dard country, and then with the disappearance of their indepenpence they were scattered, some Sāhi princes taking to service under the kings in the Kashmir court and some preferring to lead independent lives in the mountainous regions

1. See *Bhaiṣajyagurusūtra*, pp. 13, 29.

of north Kashmir. The entry of the Sāhi princes into Kashmir court commenced in the reign of Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa who for the first time brought under his rule the Tukhāras, Daradas and Bhauṭṭas (see above, p. 29). Thenceforward the Sāhi princes by marriage alliances or othewise became closely connected with the Kashmir royalties. Diddā, the Sāhi princess managed to place on the throne of Kashmir her brother Saṁgrāmarāja, who was followed by his sons and grandsons. Some of the kings of this line had Sāhi princes as their ministers who wielded a tremendous influence on the king and the country. Sten infers infers from the Lahore Ms. of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* that "Sāhi" was the title of the Dard rulers,[1] and thus accounts for the name, Vidyādhara Sāhi, the ruler of the Dards during the reign of Harṣa. From the above account of the Sāhis, it is evident that the Sāhi princes lost their independent rulership over the region round about Udabhāṇḍapura but wielded a great influence on the administration of the Kashmir State, About the 10th or 11th century some Sāhi princes managed to create small independent States for themselves in the mountainous regions of Citral, Yasin, Gilgit, etc., generally known as the country of the Dards.

1. See his note in p. 339.

TESTIMONY OF THE CHINESE PILGRIMS

Some of the Buddhist edifices mentioned by Kalhaṇa were noticed by Yuan Chwang and Ou K'ong.[1] Yuan Chwang on his way to Kashmir passed through Hushkara-Vihāra (mod. Uskur, near Baramula) and stayed for one night at the Jayendra-vihāra built during the reign of Pravarasena.[2] He noticed four Aśokan topes, each containing relics of Buddha's body. He saw 100 monasteries, but the religion followed in them, he remarks, was mixed hinting thereby that the people worshipped both Buddha and Śiva. He remained for two years in the king's palace where scores of clerks were engaged by the king to copy for him the Buddhist scriptures under the supervision of Yaśa.[3] Very likely these are the copies which formed the basis of Chinese tripiṭaka of the 6th or 7th century.

The next Chinese traveller of some importance to visit Kashmir was Ou K'ong, who was also known as Dharmadhātu. He came to Kipin in 759 A. C. through the Kabul velley and Gundhāra. He lived in Kashmir for four years and studied Sanskrit, and learnt Vinaya in seven sections from three teachers. In the convent of Moung-ti or Muṇḍi-Vihāra he learnt the Śīlas and studied the Vinayas of the Mūlasarvāstivādins. He refers to the following seven other Buddhist establishments besides the Moung-ti-vihāra :[4]

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1. *L' itinêraire d' Ou K'ong* (751-790) translated and edited by Mm. Sylvain Lêvi and Ed. Chavannes in *Journal Asiatique*, 1895, pp. 341-384.
2. See above, p. 28.
3. Watters, I, p. 258-9.
4. *JA.*, 1895, p. 354.

(1) Amitābhavana

(2) Anaṅga or Āṇandabhavana

(3) Ki-tche

(4) Nao-ye-le

(5) Je-je

(6) Ye-li-t' e-le

(7) K'o-toen

He noticed more than 300 monasteries in the kingdom and a large number of stūpas and images. After four years' stay he went to Gandhāra and resided in the monastery of Jou-lo-li—a monastery carrying the name of the king, its founder, belonging to the line of Kanishka.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY AND EXPLORATIONS

In 1901 Sten Konow was deputed by the Government of India to search for inscriptions and objects of archaeological interest in Kashmir. In the course of his survey, he noticed at the village Uskur (Hushkapura) the ruins of a stūpa about 400 yards to the west of the village and took it to be the one referred to by Ou K'ong as Moung-ti Vihāra.[1] He expected that the other two places Zukur and Kanespur, if excavated, would bring to view similar ruins. He noticed at Khādaniyār the ruins of the monastery built by queen Khādanā (*ante*, p. 28) and discovered a stone inscription in a Brahmin's house at Āṅgom (Hāḍigrāma). It was written in Śāradā characters in Sanskrit and runs thus:—

१. नमो भगवते श्रार्यावलोकितेश्वराय त्रैलोक्यालोकभूताय लोको-

२. भवच्चिदे [X] जगदानन्दचन्द्राय लोकनाथाय ते नमः । प्राग्गङ्गेश्वर सन्नि-

३. धौ सुमतिमानन् वैद्य श्रोल्हनदेवाभिदश्चक्रे दारुमयं विहारममलं श्रीलोक-नाथसम्पदं तस्मिन् सि-

४. ह नृपेण कालवसतो दग्धेथ पाक्वष्टिका श्रेष्ठं तद्रत कुल्लदेवतनयामुं रामदेवो व्यधात्

५. सं ७३ मार्गशुति ५-

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1. See his Notes on a Tour in Kashmir, 1908, p. 2; *ASR.*, 1915-16, p. 50. In the beginning of the 8th century a stūpa and a vihāra were built here by Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa (Kallhaṇa, iv, 180).

"Salutation to the exalted noble Avalokiteśvara. Salutation to thee, the Lord of the world who has become a light to the three, worlds, who puttest an end to transmigration, who art a moon of delight to the world."

"Formerly a Vaidya Ulhaṇadeva by name made a spotless shrine of wood, an abode for the lord of the world in the vicinity of the Gaṅgeśvara temple. After they had been burnt by king Siṁha through the will of fate, Rāmadeva the son of Kulladeva who was devoted to him (i.e. Avalokiteśvara) made yonder shrine excellent with burnt bricks. Anno 73 the 5th day of the bright half of Mārgaśīrṣa."

In this inscription Prof. Sten Konow traces the reference made by Kalhaṇa to the burning of Hāḍigrāma in the reign of Jayasiṁha (VIII. 1586). He reads the date as 4273 corresponding to the 16th November 1197. Before his survey Pandit Kasi Ram also had traced some ruins of temples in this village (Stein, I, p. 50 n.)

In the *Archaeological Survey Reports of* 1915-16, Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni published an account of the explorations carried on by him. He discovered Buddhist mounments at Parihāsapura, Puraṇādhiṣṭhāna (mod. Pandrethan) and Hushkapura while Vogel found remain of a Buddhist stūpa near a village called Malangpura, three miles south-west of Avantipura.

Pandit R.C. Kak while in charge of the archaeological department of Kashmir collected several images of Buddha, Bodhisattvas, Buddhist gods and goddesses, fragments of stūpas and railings and several earthen jars and pots, some of the large sized jars bearing incriptions in early Gupta characters. But his greatest discovery is the ruins at Harwan (Shaḍhradvana), said to have been once the seat of Nāgārjuna.

In his work the *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, he furnishes us withe an account of the sculptures, architectural style, artistic values of the finds of which the following are Buddhistic :

(i) the temple at Pandrethan the old capital founded by Aśoka and referred to by Kalhaṇa as Śrīnagari (pp. 114-6)

(ii) the stūpa of the mediaeval pericd at Malangpura, noticed by Vogel, on which the remnants of sculptured reliefe depict "a furious monster pursuing a man who is flying precipitately before it" (p. 125);

(iii) the stūpa, monastery and caitya at Parihāsapura, the erection of which is attributed to Lalitāditya and his minister Caṅkuna. From the coins discovered in the monastery it is apparent that it existed up to the time of the king Vinayāditya, Vigraha and Durlabha (pp. 146-8);

(iv) the stūpa of Ushkur, the crection of which is attributed to Huvishka (2nd century A.C.), on the ruins of which a second stupa was built by Lalitāditya in the middle of the 8th century A.C. (pp. 152-4); and

(v) the monastery and stūpa at Ṣhaḍhradvana (mod. Harwan). Here Pandit R.C. Kak has discovered a stūpa, bases of chapels and a flight of steps connecting the stūpa and the chapels, and a large number of brick-tiles. The remarkable feature of the tiles is that they are prepared with a view to present Jātaka scenes or certain scenes from Buddha's life, the other motifs being designs of flowers, aquatic plants flying geese, girls, musicians, etc. The tiles are numbered in Kharoṣṭhī figures, the use of the Kharoṣṭhī script showing that the buildings were

erected before the 5th century A.C. when the Kharoṣṭhī charactrs ceased to be in use (pp. 109ff.)

The latest and epoch-making archaeological discovery in Kashmir is the find of several manuscripts deposited in a stūpa at Gilgit, the country of the Dards and the seat of the later Sāhi rulers, the name of the ruler being very likely Śrideva Sāhi Surendra Vikramāditya Nanda whose queens were Śamidevi Trailokyadevi and Vihali. One of the mss. is the gift of this king while there are several others given away by the local devotees like Śulkhina, Śulivajra, Maṁtoṭi, Maṅgalaśūra, Āryadevendrabhūta. The scribe of the king's ms. is Āryasthirabuddhi and the collaborator Narendra Datta.

The discovery of mss. was first announced by Sir Aurel Steid in the *Statesman* of the 24th July 1931. He reported that some "boys watching flocks above Naupur village, about two miles west of Gilgit Cantonment, are said to have cleared a piece of timber sticking out on the top of a small stone-covered mound, Ferther digging laid bare a circular chamber within the ruins of a Buddhist stupa filled with hundreds of small votive stupas and relief plaques common in Central Asia and Tibet."

"In the course of the excavation a great mass of ancient manuscripts came to light closely packed in what appears to have been a wooden box." "The palaeograyhic indications of some of the mss. suggest that they may date back to the sixth century A.D.

M. Hackin also paid a visit to the spot and furnished us with the following information (*Journal Asiatique*, 1935, pp. 14-15) :

"The place of discovery is situated about 3 miles to the north of Gilgit in the mountainous region. There are four stūpas with square basements placed side by side, thus :

The hemispherical domes of the stūpas A and B are well preserved and it is the third stūpa C which has yielded the mss. This stūpa C has double basements, the lower of which measures 6 cm. on each side and the next receding about 60 cm. on all the four sides. The height of this stūpa is 12 to 15 meters. The diameter of the chamber containing the ms. is 2 meters 40 cm. In the centre of the chamber there were the five wooden boxes, the fifth containing the other four in which were kept all the mss."

In 1938, Pandit Madhusudan Kaul was deputed by the Kashmir Government to carry on further excavations at the site but he could not discover anything of importance in stūpa A, B and D but he found 3 or 4 more mss. in stūpa C.

The script used in the mss. is mostly Upright Gupta of a date little later than those used in the mss.-remains found in Eastern Turkestan[1] and similar to the script found in the Bower mss.[2] The script of the Bower mss. is assigned to the 6th century A.C., and so the Gilgit mss. may also be dated in the 6th or at the latest in the 7th century A.C. This date takes us to the reign of kings preceding Lalitāditya who ruled about the middle of the 8th century. The Sāhis were then ruling over the region round about Udabhāṇḍapura up to Giligit and were occasionally coming into conflict with the Kashmir kings, ultimately succumbing to Lalitāditya in the middle of the eigth century. One would be tempted to identify the king mentioned in our ms. with a son of Vikramāditya, son of Raṇāditya. According to Kalhaṇa, Vikramāditya was succeeded by his brother Bālāditya; so it may be suggested that

1. Edited by A.F.R. Hoernle.
2. See Hoernle's Intro. to the Bower Ms., chap. III.

'Vikramāditya Nanda' of the ms. was related to Vikramāditya and his name was 'Surendra' and his title 'Śrideva Sāhi'. This prince probably ruled over the Dard country during the reign of King Bālāditya in Kashmir.

It will be observed that the kings, queens and ministers of Kashmir commencing from Meghavāhana patronised Buddhism more than any other faith, and a large number of vihāras was built at this time. After a short period, the Chinese travellers visited the country. Thd mss. copied for Yuan Chwang were therefore of the same time as our mss., and it noteworthy that the Gupta scripts[1] preserved by the Chinese for transcribing the Sanskrit mantras in their Chinese translations are similar to those found in the Gilgit mss.

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1. Vide the scripts (block prints) in the Taisho edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka.

RESUME

In the survey of the traditional history of Buddhism in Kashmir as given above, there may be chronological errors, or ex-aggerations of exploits, but the fact remains that from the time of Aśoka, Buddhist monks penetrated into the valleys of Cashmir and found there a place where they could carry on their missionary activities successfully. It will be observed that the evangelical spirit of the Buddhist monks was a vital factor in the spread of Buddhism. They generally selected as their fields of activities those places where cultured religious beliefs had not yet secured a stronghold. Kashmir therefore along with its neighbouring regions offered in those early days a fruitful field to the Buddhist missionaries backed as they were by the emperor Aśaka. The original inhabitants of Kashmir are designated by the term 'Nāgas' who weie mainly believers in serpent worship—a belief popular in those days almost all over India including Ceylon. Trade and coloniza-tion by the Indian population must have followed the foot-steps of the hardy and self-sacrificing monks. This is indicated in the story that many lay-devotees went to Kashmir from Benares, and that the wealth of the country was increased by the cultivation of saffroh at the instance of Madhyāntika.

Kashmir offered good opportunities for study and research, and consequently for the growth of Buddhist mona-steries as centres of learning. The Sūtra and Vinaya Piṭakas did not doubt take shape in Magadha in pre-Aśakan days, but the develapment of the Abhidharma Piṭaka must be

delegated to a post-Aśokan date and to regions outside Magadha. Kashmir appears to have the earliest centre where this supplement to the Sūtra Piṭaka emerged; it is for this reason that the Kashmirian Buddhists were referred to mostly as Ābhidharmikas. The Vibhāṣās might have been expository commentaries in a general form, but it must be admitted that these texts dealt more with Abhidharma topics than with comments on the sūtras. The Abhidharma texts of the Sarvāstivādins, a gist of which has come down to us in the masterly treatise of Vasubandhu, the *Abhidharma Kośa* and *Bhāṣya* and its *ṭīkā* written by a Kashmirian prince Yaśomitra reveal what a large amount of contributions of a subtle character had been made to the Indian stock of knowledge relating to the analysis of mental states of a Yogin. The appearance of the Ātmaka theorists, the Vātsiputrīyas, is also associated with Kashmir, showing thereby the large amount of latitude allowed by the country for philosophical discussions and expressions of new thoughts. Still more remarkable is the harmonious existence of Buddhism and Śivaism side by side without acrimonies and persecution. These existed together in many outlands, and their existence in Kashmir is another such instance. The kings themselves showed their veneration to Śiva, Buddha and even Viṣṇu all together by erecting temples dedicated to the three deities, and even allowing their queens and ministers perfect freedom in the expression of their veneration to any one of the three deities. On king might have had more than one queen or minister, belonging to different nationalities, professing different faiths; and it was not unoften the case that the king acceded to the wishes of their queens and ministers of different religious leanings by endowing temples for all the three prevailing faiths. It is evident from the traditional history sketched above that from of Aśoka up till the 12th century Buddhism existed side by side with Śivaism and Viṣṇuism and enjoyed glorious periods at

intervals. The credit of Kashmir lies not only in its being a cultural centre for Buddhist and Hindu cultures in countries abroad. In ancient days Gandhāra and Kashmir were treated as one country and so it cannot be said how far one or the other country was responsible for the spread of Indian culture. But in the post-Kushan period, Kashmir had a direct communication with Tukhāra, Khotan and Tibet, and therefore much of the culture and religion propagated in those countries was due to the paṇḍitas of Kashmir.

The Kushan rule was followed by an ouslaught on the Buddhists by Mihirakula, which was partially recompensed by his son Baka. The career of Buddhism in Kashmir was not very happy till the reign of Meghavāhana. From his time it enjoyed a glorious period till the time of Jayāpīḍa. From Avantivarman's time (855 A. C.) the Brahmanic faith became ascendant putting into shade the Buddhist religion till the reign of Kṣemagupta who burnt the Buddhist vihāras and utilised the brass of the Buddha-images for other purposes. From now on till the 11th century, the Buddhists fell on evid days and all the kings were anti-Buddhistic in spirit. The last of them was Harṣa (1089) who cherished the '*mleccha* faith,' and destroyed the Hindu and Buddhist temples. In the reign of Jayasiṁha there was a revival of Buddhism under the patronage of Jayamatī, queen of Uccala The Turki Sāhis, according to Al-birūnī, professed the Buddhist faith and were in power up to the 9th century. Their successors the Brahmanic Sāhis supported Śivaism and had little regard for Buddhism.

Thus we see that Buddhism passed through good and evil days from from the reign of Aśoka up to the 12th century, It did enjoy glorious periods at intervals, when several stūpas and vihāras were erected for them. To the existence of these monuments the Chinese travellers bear eloquent testimony. The archaeological explorations unfortunately have yet been carried on extensively, but it may safely be surmised that such explorations, if carried on, will reveal the ruins of many stūpa and vihāra referred to by Kalhaṇa.

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